India

FOR THE

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Notes and News 181
India's "Recuperative Power" ... 184
Our London Letter 184
British Indians in South Africa ... 185
An Indian Famine Union 186
The Prevention of Famine: Mr. Dutt's Pamphlet 186
Indian Famines and the Census: Some Opinions of the Press ... 188
Mr. Leonard Courtney on the Future of India 188
Mr. S. H. Swinny at Hampstead ... 189
The Indian National Congress: Resolutions at the Sixteenth Session 190
Public Meetings on Indian Questions 191
Advertisements 192

NOTES AND NEWS.

OUR Correspondent at Durban sends an important telegram which we commend to the notice of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord George Hamilton and their colleagues. Hundreds of European civilian refugees in Natal, our Correspondent states, have been allowed to return to the Transvaal, but no Indians. Some time ago the authorities offered two "permits"—which we take to be "permits" for two individuals—for the thousands of Indian refugees in Natal, but no "permit" at all has so far been granted to an Indian. In consequence the Indian refugees, whose sufferings on the outbreak of the war were peculiarly severe, are in great distress. On the face of the matter, this state of things is a grim commentary upon the promises of "equal treatment for all races" amid which the war was begun. But it ought only to be necessary to bring the facts to the knowledge of the Government at home in order to secure justice. We have Lord Lansdowne's word for it that nothing in the conduct of the Transvaal Government excited his indignation more than the treatment they meted out to British Indian traders. We need not at this moment re-open the history of the matter. But the least that Lord Lansdowne can do is to secure that the second state of these unfortunate fellow-subjects of his shall not be worse than the first. Unless the Government is willing to expose itself to the world in an attitude of hypocrisy and cynicism it will without delay require that there shall be one weight and one measure for British subjects of whatever race whom the war has driven out as refugees from the Transvaal.

A very interesting "Indian Memorial Service" was held in commemoration of the late Queen at Durban on March 1. Over 1,000 Indian children, scholars of the local Indian schools, assembled in the Town Hall, under the presidency of the Mayor, and were addressed by Mr. R. Russell, the Superintendent of Education, on "The Queen's Reign"—a simple and attractive sketch of the Queen's life and of the developments under her rule. Mr. Gandhi, who moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Russell, thought the address "would leave a lasting effect on the memory of all the Indian children who had had the advantage of hearing it." We are glad to learn from Mr. Khan's remarks in proposing a vote of thanks to the Mayor for presiding on the occasion that the Mayor "always took an interest in the Indian population of the town." Each Indian child carried away a permanent memento—"a lithographed sheet containing a portrait of the Queen, an extract from her Proclamation to the people of India in 1858, a record of the dates of the principal events in her life," and two maps "showing what India was in 1837 and what it is now." This souvenir, of which we have seen a copy, was very tastefully got up. We heartily wish the people of Natal would bring their treatment of British Indians into permanent harmony with this pleasant function.

On another page will be found some interesting passages from the chapter on India contained in Mr. Leonard Courtney's book, "The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom and its Outgrowths." Whatever Mr. Courtney has to say deserves serious attention, and in connexion with the passages which we quote elsewhere it may be interesting to recall a speech he delivered at Fowey in October, 1897. Mr. Courtney had then served for two years as a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, and he told his constituents that

> in the course of a few months they would be arriving at some conclusion. But whatever that conclusion might be, it was no false anticipation to say that they would confirm the belief that India was an extremely poor country, and the difficulty of raising revenue to meet the expenditure was one pressing always upon the Indian Government, and at the present time pressing more severely than ever. . . . This opened up a larger question. After all, what was this Government of India to whom we were bound to defer, even if we thought they were wrong? Who were these ten or a dozen gentlemen who governed India? Who appointed them? How were they trained? What were their special qualifications? How were these 300 millions of people ruled? He did not intend to enter upon that question now, but it was a serious question, which would have to be very deeply considered.

Without fully discussing this extremely important question Mr. Courtney proceeded to indicate the lines upon which his thoughts had run:—

> They could not very well have India governed by an Indian House of Commons, choosing its own Government, just as the British House of Commons chose the Government at home. Things were not ripe for that yet. Nor could India be governed by the British House of Commons as the United Kingdom was governed. The House of Commons would be quite incapable of ruling British India in any direct fashion, and British India could not be left to govern itself. And so British India remained a question which would occupy our attention for some time; but it would have to be considered and dealt with very carefully. This bureau, this little set of people in a room, collected one scarcely knew how, put there one did not know why, having qualifications of which we had no surety, was not the final system of government for India. The House of Commons never could do it, because it was already overburdened with work, and to undertake to govern India directly would infallibly break its back. But that great question would have to be considered; and, if at some future time it fell to his lot to have to address them on the question of the government of India and the problem of how to bring that government into relation with modern life and secure some interpretation of Native opinion and some authority for educated English opinion, he was confident he should be rewarded with the same attention and the same intelligence they had given him that night.

Unfortunately, this further address has not yet been delivered. We hope very much that, either in speech or in writing, Mr. Courtney will take an early opportunity of expressing his views upon the matter. They did not fall within the scope of his present volume, which is rather a description of the machine at work than a series of suggestions for its improvement. But it will be seen that Mr. Courtney refers in sympathetic terms to the aspiration of educated Indians "for a larger and more independent share in the government of India," and hints that the present system of Indian financial control betrays excessive jealousy of the House of Commons.

Sir William Wedderburn has addressed to the *Times* (April 14) another letter (which we reprint elsewhere) to explain further his previous suggestion of "a national union, on a philanthropic and scientific basis, to promote enquiry into the causes of Indian famines, with a view to discovering means of prevention." He points out carefully that the enquiry he proposes is of "a modest and practical character"—merely "a detailed enquiry into the economic condition of a few selected villages." The procedure suggested is this:—

> In each famine province the local administration would select a few typical villages and appoint a representative committee of experienced men, official and non-official, European and Indian, to make a complete diagnosis of their condition, ascertaining the exact financial position of each cultivator, with the history and causes of his indebtedness to the money-lender, where such indebtedness exists.

A model would be found in the Deccan Riots Commission of 1875-76. Then, the economic record once complete, "the selected villages should be entrusted to administrators of proved capacity and discretion, with a free hand to treat each case on its merits, and extricate the cultivators from their financial difficulties." The results would certainly throw very welcome light on the actual circumstances to be reckoned with; and, if the idea worked out satisfactorily, the remedy could readily be put in operation, *mutatis*

mutandis, in other districts. The suggestion should commend itself to those of us at home who sympathise with Lord Curzon's expressed purpose of attempting to combat the "ruinous agricultural indebtedness" of the Indian cultivators, who form some four-fifths of the whole population of the British Indian Empire.

Mr. Romesh Dutt, C.I.E., has published a pamphlet entitled "Indian Famines, their Causes and Prevention" (London: P. S. King and Son), which summarises effectively the main argument of his letters to Lord Curzon, and brings the review down to date. Thus, he records the results of the recent census, the resolution he moved at the Conference of the General Committee of the National Liberal Federation at Rugby (February 27), and the Memorial to the Secretary of State (December 20, 1900), signed by Sir Richard Garth, K.C., late Chief Justice of Bengal, and half a score other retired officers, "some of whom are among the highest living authorities on questions of Indian administration." We quote some extracts in another column. We hope the pamphlet will have a wide circulation. It points out lucidly and succinctly the main remedies recommended by Mr. Dutt and supported by all intelligent and unbiassed observers.

In the February issue of the *Madras Review*, Sir John Jardine puts forward a generous "Plea for Intelligent Sympathy" between Anglo-Indians and Indians, based on "thirty years and more of intimacy with Natives of India and Burma, of all ranks in life, from the labourer on the farm to the kings and princes of the land." "At this time of day," he naturally thinks, "most reasonable men agree that, in spite of all stumbling-blocks, there ought and can be pleasant and friendly intercourse between the governing nations and those they govern." He points out, as we have ourselves done on many occasions, that "the need of a better *modus vivendi* has been felt by the responsible rulers of India for several generations." Wisely he insists on the importance of "some real knowledge of the languages": "They are the best door open to ordinary hard-working people to dispel the ignorance they start with"—"they enable the foreigner to hear, see, and think for himself," instead of "swallowing the wild or malicious commonplaces of neighbours who cannot translate a simple sentence correctly." Apart from ordinary considerations of humane feeling and justice, it is a strong point that, as Mountstuart Elphinstone had already remarked, those who have known the Indians longest and most intimately have always had the best opinion of them. The argument, indeed, is not against facts, but against prejudice.

In the comprehensive paper on "Madras, the Southern Satrapy," which Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., read before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts on Tuesday, Sir John Jardine will find at least two points of interest. Mr. Rees claims "friendly relations" between Anglo-Indians and Indians as "characteristic of Madras"—though they are, happily, "not wanting elsewhere."

> All (the peoples of Madras), without exception, strive to please a stranger, if he but meet them in the right spirit. . . . . The amount of friendship, and even intimacy, that is possible between the English and the Indians is astonishing. . . . . The Hindus are the most tolerant people in the world, but they like a little reciprocity. Nowhere in India are Hindus more tolerant, more friendly, more sympathetic, than in that part of the peninsula in which we have been longest settled, and these relations do equal honour to us and to them.

The description, it will be observed, is practically limited to the Indian side. But nobody ever entertained any doubt about that. The question is: Do the Anglo-Indians "meet them in the right spirit"? "Do the people obtain 'a little reciprocity'?" Still, we think Mr. Rees must mean that they do; and we should be glad to believe that the relations are so friendly. The other point that falls in with Sir John Jardine's opinion is Mr. Rees's emphatic endorsement of the necessity of official knowledge of the vernaculars. Mr. Rees says:—

> To me it is inexplicable how any officer, other than a writer in the secretariat, can possibly perform in an efficient manner the functions of an Indian administrator without a far greater knowledge of the vernaculars than is required for passing the compulsory standards.

With such vernacular knowledge as Mr. Rees postulates there should be no official difficulty in knowing accurately the thoughts and feelings of "the amiable, industrious, interesting, and, in most respects, admirable inhabitants of the Madras Presidency."

Further, Madras is no longer "benighted." It must be judged by its fruits, and Mr. Rees asks:—

> What part of India produces such able indigenous statesmen for the conduct of public affairs in our own possessions and in Native States? Whence come such regular and such large contributions to the Imperial Exchequer? Where is Local Government so far advanced—education so widely extended? And what part of the Empire gives so little cause for political, financial, and administrative anxiety? Where, in fact, are peace and prosperity more assured?

Mr. Rees praises the "unobtrusive, unadvertised charity" of the people, and illustrates their loyal feeling. He thinks they are pretty well off; they do not groan under the salt tax (though it is frequently said to be "oppressive"), and "how greatly have conditions improved" since the first quarter of last century, "when the Viceroy is able to announce that the average income of the cultivator per head is Rs. 20"! Mr. Rees would see things rather differently, we opine, were he himself put upon 26s. 8d. per annum. What hope can there be for the elevation of a people that have got to exist on sixpence a week? Could anything impress more vividly the necessity for external saving and internal development? They are "an industrious, busy race," too, and yet sixpence a week is all that the average man can make out of it! And what of the millions that must fall below the average? No special pleading can get over this ghastly poverty which keeps down the cultivator to a merely animal existence—contented, it may be, but in no sense worthy of the Imperial rule. Mr. Rees, however, has his own faithful ideas on Imperialism. He does not scruple to say ditto to Lord George Hamilton; thus:—

> It is not high rents or taxation which have produced famine, but an inability on the part of the Government of India to control the rainfall.

Here is touching fidelity to the salt. Such is the measure of Mr. Rees's experience and statesmanship.

On March 31 at the Surrey Masonic Hall, Camberwell, in connexion with the South London Ethical Discussion Society, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji opened a discussion on "India." He said that as the subject was a very large one he would confine himself mainly to the economic question. There was one thing for which Indians were thankful to British rule—it had welded the different peoples and provinces into one nation through the English language. The two great curses of India were overtaxation and officialdom. The country was drained of its resources and every effort was crushed through additional taxation. India had paid for the formation of our Indian Empire and most of the lives lost had been those of Indians. Indians had practically no chance for any high posts in the Civil Service. This policy, which was a contradiction of solemn pledges, could not continue for long. It was as much to the interest of the British nation as to India that there should be relief as there was a tremendous field for trade in the Indian Empire if only the people were not so poor. Mr. Naoroji was listened to with close attention, and most of the speakers who followed were in agreement with him.

In his speech on the Budget, Lord Curzon dealt with the relations between soldiers and Natives—a subject "of much delicacy" on which he had never hitherto said a word. He repudiated any desire to place harsh restrictions on soldiers, but he pointed out that

> it is impossible for those who are entrusted with the government to view with equanimity any risk to these relations arising from carelessness, or ignorance, or lack of restraint. That such risk has in many cases arisen it is impossible to deny. . . . . What we as the Government have to do is to minimise the opportunities for such friction, and to induce mutual self-respect (*sic*).

He went on to protest against the assertion that the Government had interfered in a certain case with the result of a trial, or had reversed a decision of the Criminal Courts. A soldier was acquitted on a charge of murdering a punkah-coolie. The Civil authority could not and did not interfere. "Some time later the Commander-in-Chief, having satisfied himself that the acquitted party had so conducted himself as to be unfit to wear her Majesty's uniform, decided to dismiss him from the army." The matter being one of discipline, the Civil Power gave its assent. Such is the basis of the charge of interference.

But though this is the first occasion on which Lord Curzon has made the relations between soldiers and Indians a subject for remark, the matter has obviously long been in his thoughts, and the action of his Govern-

ment in such matters has been excellent. The knowledge that high authorities both civil and military were determined that cases of assaults on Natives by soldiers should be rigidly investigated and not treated as the natural and necessary effects of a dull life and an unhealthy climate has evidently had the best result. We have always maintained that one of the great causes of friction had its origin in the contempt for the Indians so freely expressed by British officers, translated by rougher natures into blows. The British soldier, however, even if he be sometimes rough and often careless, is as a rule good-tempered. Let him see that the authorities are determined to treat Indians and soldiers with equal justice and he will cease to think it the right thing to show contempt for the Indian, and his natural goodness of heart will have free play. Already there are not wanting signs of a better feeling.

The *Bengalee* reports a strange case from Debour. Mr. Whyte, who carries on mica mining there, was disturbed by the beating of tom-toms in the neighbourhood of his bungalow. It appears that there is an old tree near which is held sacred among the Kols, who, on this occasion, were offering sacrifices to the tree or to a god who makes it his residence. Mr. Whyte sent his Eurasian manager—Mr. Frizzoni—to tell them to desist. They, possibly fearing the god's anger, refused. According to one story, Mr. Frizzoni then began to beat the worshippers with a whip, which treatment the Kols resented. Mr. Whyte then came out of his house, and either because he was enraged at the resistance or because he thought Mr. Frizzoni in danger, fired at the crowd. Several men, including Mr. Frizzoni were wounded, and one killed by the bullets. Mr. Whyte gave himself up to the police and several of the Kols have been arrested.

The "Reform" of the Calcutta Corporation was grounded on two propositions—first the great superiority in public spirit and capacity of the European element of the population; and secondly, as a necessary corollary of the first, on their readiness to take part in municipal affairs if they were given the opportunity. It is true that the framers of the Act betrayed some doubt as to the soundness of the latter proposition, since they thought it necessary to entice their European councillors by providing for their payment. The Act has now been some time in operation, but every mail brings abundant proof of the hollowness of the arguments by which it was supported. In the *Times of India* there are some instructive comments on the recent election of members of the Bombay Municipality by the justices, which throw an instructive light on the failures of the new Corporation in the rival City of Calcutta.

The *Times of India* insists that the Europeans might easily have secured one-third of the seats allotted to the Justices. As a matter of fact, the whole sixteen were carried off by Indians. Our contemporary declares that "the Europeans of Bombay seem to have lost either the faculty or the inclination of working together."

> The truth is that unless we mend our ways in this respect we shall stand before our neighbours as one of the backward classes, with this to differentiate us from the rest of them to our detriment that we are content to be backward, whereas these others do now and again plead that something may be done to bring them to the front.

Nor does this Anglo-Indian newspaper think that there is anything in the excuse that the "stream of talk" which prevails and the one-man rule of the Chairman are a reason for holding aloof. On the contrary it declares that

> a more careful observation of what really happens in the Council Hall would show that the number of talkers is small, and that there is really not more rhetoric running to waste there than in similar assemblies in England.

As to one-man rule, that "is in great part a necessary outcome of the lack of a more widely diffused sense of civic responsibility."

With the contention of the *Times of India* that Indians and Europeans should work together in the municipalities we thoroughly agree, but nothing is to be gained by giving Europeans an artificial preponderance. In the annual nominations of Justices, the Government appointed 38 Europeans out of 61. We hope this does not signify an intention gradually to place the Europeans in a preponderant position, and that having failed to use their votes with effect when they constituted one-third of the whole body, they are to be rewarded for their negligence by being made a majority. Meanwhile the "Reformed" Corporation of Calcutta fails more than ever to satisfy the European residents. In the weekly edition of the *Englishman* we find as usual a long string of complaints on almost every conceivable subject, the supply of water to the houses, the watering and repair of the roads, the overflow of dirty water from the roads into the houses, the state of the foot-paths, the closing of thoroughfares without proper notice, the obstruction caused by unloaded and unyoked bullock carts, etc., etc. And the Municipality of Calcutta has been "reformed."

Professor Ramsay's report on Mr. Tata's great project of a post-graduate institute of research will no doubt go far to settle the main lines of procedure. It appears, however, that the scheme cannot be set afoot until Mr. Tata's generous munificence be supplemented somehow to the extent of some £5,000. The favourable consideration promised by the Viceroy and several members of his Council seems to have raised an expectation that the needed sum will be supplied by the Government of India. If Mr. Tata wishes the Government to take part in the enterprise, we hope his anticipations will be promptly fulfilled—although we cannot help feeling that the partnership is charged with possibilities of future difficulty. Is it not perfectly practicable to reduce the proposed scale of operations so that Mr. Tata's fund could easily cover the necessary expenditure? When the establishment exhibits its capabilities, and its growth needs a corresponding expansion of funds, there would be in existence a plain and convincing ground of appeal for pecuniary aid—an appeal that the Government could hardly persist in overlooking.

The *Asiatic Quarterly* for April does good service in publishing the comprehensive and suggestive address delivered (January 2) by the Hon. C. L. Tupper, C.S.I., as Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, on "English Jurisprudence and Indian Studies in Law." He reviews the science of jurisprudence in all its branches, and points the importance of the work of Bentham, Austin and Maine. It is refreshing to find a man of affairs speaking out in such terms as these:—

> Do not leave jurisprudence behind you as you enter on the actual business of life. The Muse of Jurisprudence is no crabbed or idle one. She can offer intellectual satisfaction. . . . . Far more than a means of intellectual satisfaction, jurisprudence, from its effect upon the science of legislation, has immense influence and immense value in practical affairs.

Mr. Tupper mentions the splendid work done by his predecessors in the office of Vice-Chancellor. His successor will be able to add Mr. Tupper's own work, which will compare very favourably with any of them, and does immense credit to a busy official. "It has always seemed to me," says Mr. Tupper, "that the acceptance of any rule of law by an advanced Western nation affords a presumption not for, but against, the suitability of the rule to this country." How does this judgment square with the actual development of British Indian law?

It may be remembered that the Council of the Women's Liberal Federation at their annual meeting last year adopted the following Resolution:—

> That in the opinion of this Council it is desirable, with a view to preventing the frequent recurrence of severe famine in India, that a searching enquiry be made in order to ascertain the economic causes, as distinguished from the physical occasion, of famines in that country.

We understand that a Resolution to the same effect will be submitted at the meeting of the Council this year.

Remittances on India for 60 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs. 68,70,884 were received at prices ranging from 1s. 3 29/32d. to 1s. 3 31/32d. The following amounts in bills, were allotted—viz., Rs. 40,86,000 on Calcutta, Rs.12,76,000 on Bombay, and Rs.6,38,000 on Madras, all at an average of 1s. 3·906d. Tenders at 1s. 3 29/32d., will receive about 88 per cent. Later the Council sold bills for Rs. 16,850 on Calcutta at 1s. 3 15/16d. and telegraphic transfers for one lakh on Bombay at 1s. 4d. Last week remittances for Rs.23,18,127 were sold for £153,693, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs.63,18,127, producing £418,798. Next week 60 lakhs will again be offered.

INDIA'S "RECUPERATIVE POWER."

After reviewing the more important features of the financial situation in his annual Statement, Sir Edward Law turns his attention to the economic situation. Before dealing with the substance of this section we think it not unimportant to quote one of three introductory paragraphs. It is this:—

In my opinion, the question of economic development is one in which those responsible for the financial situation must take the keenest interest. It has always appeared to me that it is comparatively easy for a Government to take money out of the pockets of the public provided that these pockets are sufficiently well filled. Hence, I think that we are specially interested in doing all that is in our power to promote economic progress.

These sentences, we take it, would be hard to beat even in official literature. They take the prize for sheer banality. Whether one agreed or disagreed with Sir James Westland, one could always feel his grip; and Mr. Clinton Dawkins could at least play cleverly with a paradox. But what can be hoped for from a Financial Minister who thinks it necessary to parade such platitudes with the self-conscious air of a discoverer in the financial bearings of economics? Nor would we waste time over a single lapse of this sort. We cite it as characteristic of a type of mind that is supposed to be the best to be had for the money in a crisis of the internal affairs of the Indian Empire. Involuntarily there recurs to memory Sir Lepel Griffin's incisive remark on the existing mediocrity of talent in the high places of the Indian Government.

The exigencies of his post require the Financial Minister to make out at least a plausible case for "the recuperative power of India." We do not need to remind our readers of the ill-fated attempts in this direction—chiefly by way of brazen assertion—which covered with shame so many of our contemporaries a year or two ago. But Sir Edward Law has acquired the genuine official complacency. He calmly and confidently tells us this:—

The fact that we have been able to meet the extraordinary demands on our resources, due to famine and plague, and that we are to-day able to present a Budget showing, notwithstanding the simultaneous serious depression in three such important industries as cotton, tea, and indigo, a distinct and satisfactory increase of revenue obtained without increase of taxation, is in itself the strongest evidence of that recuperative power. But I think that close examination of certain material facts will afford further proof that our belief in this recuperative power is not an idle assumption.

With regard to the cheerful expression "without increase of taxation," which no doubt carries conviction to the great mass of people that know little or nothing of the facts, and is therefore a diplomatic stroke, it is well to remember that even the Secretary of State has admitted on the floor of the House that the safe limits of taxation in India have been reached. The Finance Minister, then, can scarcely be allowed to congratulate himself and his Government that he has not increased taxation. On the contrary, it rather lies with him to explain why it is that, with a succession of surpluses, and with a gratifying "recuperative power," even after a succession of unparalleled attacks of famine and plague, he has not done something to relieve the pressure of taxation. We are not aware that he has granted a single remission of taxes—not even in the case of salt, which is such a humiliating blot upon the revenue system. Until he sees his way to remit taxation—a taxation that is admittedly strained to breaking point—no sensible person will pay the slightest respect to any profession of satisfactory financial and economic conditions.

If we look first at "certain material facts" which Sir Edward Law adduces in support of his theory of "recuperative power," we are amazed to observe how easily he allows himself to be buoyed up with hope. In a scrappy review of the main heads of revenue he restricts his comparisons to the accounts of three completed years, 1897-98 to 1899-1900, and the revised estimates for 1900-01. The basis is obviously too narrow to build on with any confidence whatever; and he does not supply any adequate history of special causes operative in the different branches. With intolerable banality he devotes a whole paragraph to the statement that "the most important industry in India and the one most directly interesting the innumerably larger proportion of the population is agriculture." Here he is faced by the famine, but summons to his aid the figures of the land revenue, which, he says, "conclusively show that, whilst some unfortunate territories have suffered severely, others have prospered, with the general result that, as a whole, the agricultural population in the Indian Empire is somewhat better off to-day than it was a year ago." The figures in question indicate that the proportion of land revenue to general revenue was 26·63 per cent., 27·08, and 25·07, in the years 1897-98 to 1899-1900, while it will be 23·54 for 1900-01, and is estimated at 25·17 for 1901-02. How the diminishing tendency of the land revenue indicates increasing prosperity he does not explain. Anyhow, it seems odd that it should need a peculiarly destructive famine over a large part of India to evoke a peculiarly expansive land revenue in the rest of the country. Strange as it may seem, "the salt revenue returns are particularly encouraging": one would like to see the details in order to understand what is really signified by an improvement of "the general consuming power of the population" in these disastrous times. If the people more immediately interested in the indigo, tea, and cotton industries share Sir Edward Law's facile "hopes" of renewed prosperity, one must trust that they base their expectations on more solid facts than he presents. Of course, he is great on the exports and imports, blithely impenetrable to the true significance of his figures.

The unfortunate truth is that Sir Edward Law does not appear to appreciate in the smallest degree the peculiar and artificial position of India in an economic sense. It is merely misleading to sum up the figures of the various branches of the Indian revenue and to draw from them the same conclusions as in the case of British revenue. In order to institute a fair comparison it would be necessary to imagine the British territory under the absolute control of foreigners, say the Chinese—the laws made, the policy prescribed, the taxes imposed, the expenditure regulated, the railways built, the industrial undertakings conducted, the commerce dominated, by the Chinese. Sir Edward Law gives the value of Indian exports in excess of Indian imports for the four years 1896-97 to 1899-1900 at Rx.32,12,04,679, Rx.28,27,06,105, Rx.44,34,11,318, and Rx.38,26,13,239, respectively. "I think," he says, "that on the whole these figures"—the figures of export and import—"indicate commercial strength, and a generally satisfactory situation." His argument comes to this: that the greater the exploitation of the resources of the country the greater the progress and prosperity. If Great Britain were submitted by the Chinese to such a process of "drain," our Finance Ministers would soon find reason to tell another tale. But the point of view fatally obscures their vision so long as the drain is on the other side, not on theirs.

But even if this were not so, even if it were quite admissible to read the Indian figures as a Chancellor of the Exchequer would read the British figures, Sir Edward Law's comfortable conclusions obviously stand in painful contrast with outstanding facts. There are the appalling figures of the census. Can a stationary population—an unnatural lack of normal increase of population, to the extent of some 30,000,000 in ten years—be explained in any sense consonant with prosperity, past or prospective? There is the famine—the repeated famine—the worst famine of the century. Sir Edward recognises the fact, and admits that it is economically objectionable. But he does not give weight to the terrible fact that it was not a famine of food but a famine of money—a simultaneous lack, on the part of many millions of people, of three halfpennies a day to keep body and soul together. Looking at the widespread prevalence of the calamity, how can one regard it as consistent with prosperity? True, the export of grain from Eastern provinces to the famine districts of the West and the Centre, and the swelling of railway receipts by "the unprecedented transport of food-stuffs" to meet the requirements of the starving people, do in their way contribute to the general financial results. But to base on such grounds the conclusion of "recuperative power" and coming prosperity is but to mock at the helpless patience of a sorely-tried people.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

Westminster, Thursday.

Parliament re-assembles to-day for the Budget, after a recess remarkable only for its dulness. A strange lethargy continues to clog the wheels of political action. Perhaps the event of this evening may turn out to be the motive power that is destined to restore the machine to something of its former activity. Men of all parties are beginning to rebel

against the spirit of indifferentism that has too long prevailed in the sphere of politics. After all, as Sir William Harcourt observed some time ago, a nation cannot live by war alone. The energies and the interests of the country have been absorbed for nearly two years by the conflict in South Africa, and the people are now longing for a relief from that unwholesome pre-occupation.

Political astrologists declare that we are approaching the parting of the ways. Their predictions would, perhaps, be more confident if they could reckon on an aggressive Opposition. The need of the moment, as so steady-going a Liberal as Mr. Samuel Smith has just proclaimed, is the organisation of a party to which the country could look for the formation of an alternative Government. Recent history indicates that such a consummation is only likely to be achieved by the pressure of some external force. But whence is that pressure to be derived? From the Budget, perhaps.

Whatever the Liberals may or may not do, it is clear that the Nationalist party mean to be a real Opposition. "We shall remain on deck all the time," says Mr. Dillon, and, as the experience of the first part of the Session has proved, the words are no idle threat. As an earnest of their purpose the Irish members intend to-morrow night to re-open the question of University education in Ireland. The subject is full of embarrassment for both Unionists and Liberals, and more especially for the leader of the House of Commons. Mr. Balfour, it will be remembered, has spoken strongly and eloquently in favour of the Irish demand for a University permeated by the spirit of the prevailing religion of the country, while the Duke of Devonshire, with equal warmth, has impressed on the country the fact that in this matter Mr. Balfour speaks only for himself. The result of a bye-election may depend on Mr. Balfour's attitude to-morrow, for according to the Nationalists the key of the situation in Monmouth, where Mr. Albert Spicer is trying to regain the seat won by Dr. Rutherfoord Harris at the General Election, lies in the hands of the Irish electors.

There can be no doubt that Mr. John Redmond is making a bold bid for the privilege secured by the Nationalists in 1885 and again in 1892 of acting as arbiter of the fortunes of the two British parties. Until lately, Mr. Redmond utterly scouted the idea of renewing the so-called alliance between his party and the Liberals. He did his utmost in the last Parliament to provoke an estrangement between the two parties, and it was largely owing to his influence that so many Irish electors gave their votes last year to Unionist instead of Home Rule candidates. A sudden change has come over this inexplicable policy. Members of the Irish party have been despatched to the Monmouth boroughs to promote the success of the Liberal candidate, while Mr. Redmond himself has made a public appeal to the Liberal party to reunite on the basis of a Home Rule policy, in which event he promises to devote himself to the task of bringing them back to power. Mr. Redmond is evidently to be numbered with the prophets who foresee great changes in the political situation.

News from South Africa continues to be more remarkable for the variety of its colouring than for veracity. A few days ago the redoubtable De Wet was reported to have gone mad. "Oh, that he would bite some of our generals!" cried the humorists. Next, we were told that Botha was again suing for peace. Nobody believed the first story, and the second was promptly made the subject of a semi-official denial. The latest rumour, which however is probably well-founded, is that Sir Alfred Milner intends to return to England for a short holiday. A substitute, it is stated, will have to be appointed to act as Deputy-Governor. The duties of the position, so far as the conquered territories are concerned, would naturally devolve on Lord Kitchener, but we are plainly told that the Commander-in-Chief will probably "desire to confine himself to the pressing duties of his military office." After the repeated protestations of Ministers it is almost impossible to believe that they can be contemplating the supersession of Sir Alfred Milner. Nevertheless, the announcement of the name of his "substitute" is awaited with lively curiosity.

Justly or otherwise, the impression gains ground that the Victoria Memorial Committee are setting to work in the wrong way. Their action in commissioning one sculptor to execute the principal memorial of the late Queen and in limiting the competition for the architectural designs to five selected architects has provoked an agitation which, whether it is justified or not, is bound to have a detrimental effect on the flow of public subscriptions. The matter is not one with regard to which the Committee can afford to maintain a stiff-necked attitude. They are appealing for public support, and must therefore be content to be guided by public opinion. Some modification of the original scheme is clearly demanded in the interests of the memorial itself. If the commission for the central statue is not to be made the subject of competition, either limited or unlimited, the remainder of the design, which evidently calls for the combined talent of a Paxton, a Haussman and a Chantrey, might at least be set as an exercise for the younger brains of our studios.

A notable figure in the public life of the country has been removed by the death of Sir Edward Watkin, who for more than half a century past had been associated with railway enterprises in all parts of the world. Sir Edward's achievements were many and wonderful, but his unaccomplished dreams were more wonderful still. Among the latter his scheme of connecting Great Britain with the Continent by a submarine tunnel was perhaps the most famous, but there were others in his mind scarcely less daring. Some years ago, when he was almost an octogenarian, Sir Edward entered into a second marriage with a widow older than himself, and the honeymoon was made interesting to the public by a visit paid to the venerable pair by Mr. Gladstone and a subsequent ascent of Snowdon undertaken by the indomitable trio in company.

"Coriolanus," in its Lyceum dress, is a gorgeous spectacle rather than a tragedy of passion. One sees the play in a succession of tableaux, and the illustrations are so captivating that not till the curtain has fallen does one realise that most of the text has been omitted. As the Roman warrior Sir Henry Irving speaks of the people "as if he were a god to punish, not a man of their infirmity." But he is by no means a tempestuous deity. Scorn and contempt are expressed more in his gestures than in the tones of his voice. The interpretation is unexpected, surprising, and extremely interesting. It challenges criticism, suggests new ideas, and fascinates by its intellectuality, even while it disappoints by its lack of physical force. The only fault to be found with Miss Ellen Terry's Volumnia—the stern matron who bids her weeping daughter-in-law "lament in anger, Juno-like"—is that the actress is unable to subdue her own gracious personality to the austerity of the character. One should revere Volumnia, not fall in love with her, and yet Miss Terry's matron is such a charming old lady that it is quite impossible to regard her without a feeling of affection. Both she and Sir Henry Irving are at their best in the profoundly pathetic scene where the mother successfully pleads with the rebellious son to forego his revenge on Rome, and the reason why they are at their best in this episode is because its effect depends less on the art of declamation than on a display of those resources of emotional and intellectual expression of which our greatest actor and our most winning actress possess a perfect mastery.

BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

SEVERE DISTRESS AMONG REFUGEES.

RETURN TO THE TRANSVAAL PREVENTED.

"EQUALITY OF TREATMENT" IN PRACTICE.

[By Cable, from our own Correspondent.]

Durban, April 16.

Hundreds of European civilian refugees, male and female, have been allowed to return to the Transvaal, and shops that do not belong to Indians are open.

The authorities offered some months ago two "permits" for the thousands of Indian refugees, but none have been granted yet.

The Indian refugees are in consequence suffering severely.

[We may mention that on receipt of this important telegram we circulated it to the British Press, and it appeared in yesterday's *Daily News* and other journals.—Ed. India.]

AN INDIAN FAMINE UNION.

The following further letter from Sir William Wedderburn appeared in the *Times* of April 16:—

Sir,—You were so good as to publish my letter of the 6th inst. proposing a national union, on a philanthropic and scientific basis, to promote enquiry into the causes of Indian famines, with a view to discovering means of prevention. In order to avoid misunderstanding, will you allow me to explain that the enquiry proposed is of a modest and practical character, involving but little expense and no disturbance of current Indian administration? No roving Imperial Commission is desired, or any large collection of facts and figures relating to the whole of India. All that I ask for is a detailed enquiry into the economic condition of a few selected villages, to be conducted on the spot under the direction of the various local Governments. The procedure would be as follows:—In each famine province the local administration would select a few typical villages and appoint a representative committee of experienced men, official and non-official, European and Indian, to make a complete diagnosis of their condition, ascertaining the exact financial position of each cultivator, with the history and causes of his indebtedness to the money-lender, where such indebtedness exists. This enquiry might be on the lines of that conducted by the Deccan Riots Commission, under the presidency of Sir Auckland Colvin, in 1875-76. And when the economic record is complete, I suggest that the selected villages should be entrusted to administrators of proved capacity and discretion, with a free hand to treat each case on its merits, and extricate the cultivators from their financial difficulties. The rural village is the unit and microcosm of all India; and my proposition is that, if practical means can be discovered to render these typical villages safe and prosperous, a clue will have been obtained to render safe and prosperous the many villages of which rural India is made up.

In his recent Budget speech, of which you have given a telegraphic summary, Lord Curzon specifies 12 great reforms with which he hopes to deal during his term of office, and among the evils which he desires to combat this ruinous agricultural indebtedness occupies a prominent position. Surely in such a case those at home who realise our national responsibilities should not remain inert and indifferent, but should actively co-operate with our capable and energetic Viceroy and strengthen his hands in this good work. The conditions of life are different in different parts of India, and no one panacea will be universally efficacious; agricultural banks, irrigation, technical education, village industries, administrative reforms, all these find a place among useful remedies for rural distress, and as in Ireland Mr. Horace Plunkett and his friends have done much to relieve the distressed peasantry by means of good organisation and patient attention to detail, so also in India by careful enquiry into the cultivator's condition and needs and by the application of well-considered remedies we may hope gradually to make firm his feeble knees and enable him better to resist the attacks of famine when periodical droughts bring destruction to his crop.

I have, etc.,
W. WEDDERBURN.

Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
April 14.

Under the heading "Sir William Wedderburn on India" the *Investors' Review* (April 13) writes:—

In a letter to the *Times* this distinguished and unvarying friend of the Indian people makes the suggestion that a national union should be formed in this country on a purely economic basis, having for its specific object the investigation of the causes of Indian famines, and the determination on scientific methods in the direction in which practical means of prevention may most usefully be sought. Questions relating to the relief of famine already in existence would not form part of the task to be undertaken by this body. The suggestion is a good one, and we should be glad to see it carried into execution, but fear the inveterate apathy of the British public must militate against its formation. In an isolated way thousands of people throughout the Kingdom take a more or less close and intelligent interest in Indian affairs, but the mass of the population knows nothing about India and cares as little. The popular mind is still possessed by fantastic ideas regarding India's inexhaustible wealth, and nothing short of a painful experience of India's poverty coming home to the pockets and dinner tables of the nation will raise it from its apathy. We have long held India's case to be in great measure desperate—not because India is denuded of resources or exhausted, but because such resources as it had have been dissipated, and because the wealth drawn from it is not spent within it to improve the lot of the people, to raise them in the scale of well-being, and to lay every year a broader foundation for the prosperity of the whole country under our rule. In a word, India is being ruined by militarism and by extravagance, in ways that bring its people no profit; and until a better understanding of its wants gets accepted here as the governing motive for our entire relations with and treatment of that great dependency its affairs must drift gradually from bad to worse. All we can do is to find a little money for the most striking visible necessities of the people.

THE PREVENTION OF FAMINE.

MR. ROMESH DUTT'S PAMPHLET.

UNDER the title "Indian Famines, their Causes and Prevention," Messrs. P. S. King and Son have just published for Mr. Romesh Dutt, C.I.E., an admirable little pamphlet of sixteen pages. Having set forth the catalogue of ten famines within forty years (1860 to 1900), Mr. Dutt refers as follows to the results of the Census of 1901:—

"The results of the three famines within the last ten years, and of the increasing poverty of the people, are shown in the Census taken in March, 1901. The population of India has remained stationary during the last ten years. There is a slight increase in Bengal, Madras, and Northern India, while there is an actual decrease of some millions in Bombay, the Central Provinces, and the Native States affected by recent famines. In other words, the population of India to-day is less by some thirty millions than it would have been if the nominal increase of one per cent. per annum had taken place during these ten years."

Next Mr. Dutt turns to the Resolution which, on his motion, was adopted by the Conference of the General Committee of the National Liberal Federation at Rugby on February 27 last. The resolution was in these terms:—

"That this meeting deplores the succession of severe famines which have caused the deaths of millions of people in India in recent years, and considers it necessary to prevent the recurrence of such severe calamities by moderating the Land Tax, extending irrigation works, and relieving as far as possible the annual burdensome drain on the financial resources of India which impoverishes the people of that country."

The pamphlet proceeds to expound in detail the means of prevention enumerated in the resolution.

As regards (1) "moderating the land-tax," Mr. Dutt writes:—

"As has been stated before, the Land Tax in Bengal is moderate, and is *permanently settled*. As far back as 1793 the British Government fixed the Land Tax of Bengal, and gave its word of promise never to enhance it afterwards. The result is that the people have a strong motive for extending cultivation and making improvements, they are resourceful and able to save for bad years, and *there has been no loss of life from famines for over a hundred years in permanently settled Bengal.*

"Lord Canning was Viceroy of India from 1856 to 1862, and Lord Lawrence from 1864 to 1869. These great rulers had saved India during the dark days of the Mutiny, and they wished to save India from the greater danger of recurring famines and starvation. And both these Viceroys recommended a *permanent settlement* of the Land Tax for all Provinces of India. A Liberal Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood, and a Conservative Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Northcote, strongly supported this beneficent recommendation. And if this proposal had been adopted, famines would have been less frequent and less fatal in India since.

"But that generation passed away, and was succeeded by the less sympathetic administrators of the present generation. And the India Office in London rejected in 1883 the benevolent proposal made by Canning and Lawrence, and supported by Wood and Northcote.

"The Marquis of Ripon, who was the Viceroy of India from 1880 to 1884, was a sympathetic ruler of the old type, and a worthy successor of Canning and Lawrence. He made a fresh proposal to place certain limitations on the increase of the Land Tax. He laid down that in Counties which had been once surveyed and settled there should be no further increase in the Land Tax except on the equitable ground of increase in prices. But the India Office in London rejected even this moderate proposal in 1885.

"Thus the proposals to place clear and intelligible limits to the Land Tax were rejected one after another, and the continuous increase of that Tax paralyses agriculture and impoverishes the people of India. The uncertainty of the State

demand hangs like the sword of Damocles over the heads of Indian agriculturists, deadens their energy, and withdraws all motives for improvement. Retired Indian officials feel this as well as the people of India, and on December 20, 1900, a number of experienced Indian administrators submitted a Memorial to the Secretary of State for India, once more suggesting some equitable limitations to the Land Tax in India."

The text of this Memorial has already been printed in INDIA.

Passing to (2) Irrigation Works, Mr. Dutt reprints certain pages from his volume, "Famines in India." Coming, finally, to (3) Reduction of Expenditure and the Annual Drain from India, Mr. Dutt says:—

"The people of India have no votes, and are not even represented in the Executive Councils of India. They have no voice in the matter of taxation or of expenditure. They have no share in the work of adjusting the finances of India. Taxation exceeds all reasonable limits in India; and the proceeds of the taxation are not all spent in India. A large sum, estimated between twenty and thirty millions in English money, is annually drained from India to this country. The disastrous results of this annual drain have been described by many English writers and administrators throughout the century which has just closed."

Passages in proof of this statement are cited from Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Frederick John Shore, Sir George Wingate, John Stuart Mill, John Bright, Lord Salisbury and others. Mr. Dutt says that this annual drain can be gradually reduced:—

(1) By reducing public debt and public expenditure in India.

(2) By England's sharing with India the cost of the army maintained in India largely for Imperial purposes.

(3) By giving effect to Queen Victoria's Royal Proclamation of 1858, and admitting the people of India to all offices in India without distinction of race or creed.

It may be interesting to give Mr. Dutt's remarks under each of these three heads:—

(1) *Public Debt and Home Charges.*

In 1875 the debt of the Indian Government was £48,600,000, *plus* Rx. 69,850,000, making a total of about 118½ million pounds sterling, taking ten rupees for a pound. In 1895 the debt rose to £116,005,000, *plus* Rx. 104,373,000, making a total of about 220½ million pounds sterling. In other words, while the public debt was steadily reduced in England, mainly under Mr. Gladstone's influence, the public debt was nearly doubled in India within these twenty years!

The *nett* "Home charges," or the portion of the annual drain from India which is effected officially through the India Office, rose from Rx.12,501,000 in 1875 to Rx. 15,681,000, exclusive of the charge involved in exchange. The India Office is not interested in effecting a reduction; the people of India, with whom it is a question of life and death, have no voice in the matter!

(2) *Cost of the Army.*

A vast army is maintained in India, and at the cost of India, as a reservoir from which England can draw troops for her Imperial wars in China, or South Africa, and other parts of the world! In October, 1899, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman spoke thus in the House of Commons:—

"If we are to begin to use India on a large scale as a reservoir from which to draw troops for our own purposes the argument shifts materially, and I am afraid the case for some greater consideration for India will be greatly strengthened. . . . . There has always been a strong opinion among well-informed men acquainted with India that the military expenditure of India is too great, and that the force maintained there is larger than is required for Indian purposes."

Justice demands that England should pay a portion of the cost of the great Indian Army maintained in India for Imperial rather than Indian purposes. This has not yet been done, and famine-stricken India is being bled for the maintenance of England's world-wide Empire.

(3) *Queen's Proclamation of* 1858 *and the Appointment of Indians to Offices in India.*

When the East India Company was abolished and her Majesty the late Queen assumed the direct government of the Indian Empire in 1858, she issued a gracious Proclamation in which she gave the following pledge to the people of India:—

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge."

This Proclamation has been treated practically as a dead letter for over forty years. All the higher services in India are recruited under rules which virtually make them a monopoly for Englishmen who draw their pay from India, send their savings to Europe, and on retirement draw their pensions from Indian revenues. Three generations of Indians have been educated in English schools and colleges; they have proved their "ability and integrity" in all offices which they have been permitted to hold; but they are virtually excluded to this day from the higher posts in their own country!

A Parliamentary Return was submitted in 1892 showing all allowances in the form of salaries and pensions not less than a thousand rupees for each person per annum. Taking 10 rupees for the pound the totals are these:—

	To Europeans and Eurasians.		To Natives of India.
To officers on active service ..	£9,491,045	....	£2,555,431
To officers on leave in India ..	495,843	....	121,874
Pensions in India............	232,888	....	598,182
Amounts paid in England....	3,710,778	....	8,676
Total	£13,930,554	....	£3,284,163

Thus, reckoning all appointments in India of the annual value of £100 and upwards, nearly fourteen millions sterling are reserved for Europeans, and barely over three millions are given to the Natives of India desirous of serving in their own country and under their own Sovereign! I do not believe such an exclusion of the people from higher services was ever known in any civilised country, ancient or modern.

In conclusion, Mr. Dutt writes:—

We have heard often of a Benevolent Despotism being suited to India. Facts and figures show that Benevolent Despotism has not worked satisfactorily for the people of India during a century and a half. It has brought about famines once every four or five years, the latest famines being the most widespread and the worst. It has drained India of an annual tribute estimated to represent the food of thirty millions of people. It has increased the Land Tax of the country to a degree which alarms responsible English administrators, and which has reduced the cultivators to a chronic state of indebtedness. It has permitted the decline of most of the indigenous industries of India without any adequate endeavour to help the ruined industrial classes. It has thrown on India the burden of an army maintained largely for Imperial purposes. It has increased the public debt of India by leaps and bounds, even during years of profound peace within the natural boundaries of India. And it has excluded the people of India from 80 per cent. of the salaries and pensions of £100 a year or more, reserving them for English boys wishing for a wealthy career among the starved people of India.

These are the legitimate and natural results of a Benevolent Despotism. Englishmen have not done worse, but have done better, than any other nation could have done in India under any form of absolute rule. The British administrators of India are not incompetent men, they are competent and able administrators, but they have failed because a system of absolute rule *must fail* to secure the interests of the people. It is not in human nature for one set of people to work for the interests of another, and without some sort of representation the people of India can only be held, in the words of John Stuart Mill, as "a human cattle farm," worked for the benefit of England. Even as a farm India has not prospered; the "human cattle" are dying, and England's trade with a famine-stricken nation is declining!

Let us rise above the idea of a "human cattle farm," and devise methods which are needed for the prosperity and the protection of the Indian people. We do not propose any new departure; we do not approve of any bold experiments; we suggest only improvements on the lines already laid down. There is a *Legislative Council* in every large Province of India, and a few members in this Council are elected by the people; what we suggest is that this system of election be extended, and that each Indian County be represented by its own elected member in the Council. There is also an *Executive Council* in Madras as well as in Bombay; what we suggest is that there should be an Executive Council for each large Province, and one-half the members should be Natives of India. Lastly, there are the Executive Council of the Viceroy and the Council of the Secretary of State; what we suggest is that one-half the members of these Councils should be Natives of India, representing the different Provinces of India.

We suggest these exceedingly modest reforms because they are in keeping with the present administrative arrangements; because they will help British administrators with the experience and local knowledge possessed by Indians; because they will safeguard the interests of the people of India which have not been, and cannot be, safeguarded under a purely absolute rule; because they will secure a more thorough consideration, from the people's point of view, of those great questions relating to trade, industries, and agriculture, which are intimately connected with the well-being of the people; because they will make the people of India responsible, jointly with Englishmen, for the prevention of famines and disasters and disturbances; because they will associate the people of India with Englishmen in the control of Indian finance and Indian administration; because they will make the Government more popular and well-informed and national; and because they will strengthen British rule in India by enlisting in favour of that rule the co-operation of the people themselves.

INDIAN FAMINES AND THE CENSUS.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

THE "GLASGOW HERALD."

THE census returns for India furnish some striking evidence of the effects of the recent famines and the evils they have left behind them in checking the natural increase of the population. That effect can be broadly stated by means of very few figures. The census of 1891 indicated that during the preceding decade the total population of India had increased by something like 11 per cent.; the returns for 1901 show that the rate of increase has fallen to barely 1 per cent. As there are large areas of the country which have not experienced famine and its attendant calamities at all, and where the rate of increase has been normal, the actual significance of the figures above cited is that in those provinces where the dearth has been most severely felt there has been a large positive decrease in population; and this is fully confirmed by the detailed statistics of the census. The decline in the Central Provinces is over a million, and in the Bombay Presidency still more than that; while the mortality in some of the Native States, where the official machinery for grappling with famine is far less complete and efficient than in the areas under direct British administration, has been simply appalling. For instance, the population of Oodeypore, in Rajputana, is absolutely less by 840,000, or 45 per cent., than it was in 1891, and there are several other districts which have suffered quite as severely. It is estimated—and the estimate does not err on the side of extravagance—that not less than five millions of people have died in India since 1896 from famine or disease originated in famine. And this prodigious mortality cannot be justly imputed to any negligence or failure of duty on the part of the Government. It has to be borne in mind that of these five millions of deaths, only a very small percentage—in the British provinces scarcely any at all—took place from actual starvation. The system of relief has now been so elaborately organised; the methods of food-distribution so developed, that the spectacle, which was common enough in old times, of people dying by thousands from literal inability to obtain food of any kind, is no longer to be witnessed. But the worst consequences of a famine are those which no amount of official energy, no liberality of relief, can avert or even materially diminish; they are the inevitable lowering of physique, and consequent diminution of power to resist epidemic diseases, over a whole population, which invariably follow a period of dearth. In India cholera and typhoid are still, as they always have been, the ghastly handmaidens of famine, and their destructive work is increased enormously wherever they follow in its wake. The plain inference from the ascertained facts is that which has long since been drawn from the teachings of previous experience by the British rulers of India—that the best way of dealing with famine is the rigorous promotion of preventive measures in periods of prosperity. Of course it is impossible to prevent the droughts which are the immediate cause of all Indian famines. But what is not impossible is the extension of irrigation works so as to make the country less dependent on each season's rainfall. There is a long-standing difference of opinion among Anglo-Indian officials as to the relative merits of irrigation and railways as means of combating famine; and it is not to be denied that when the calamity is actually present, a railway line which facilitates the rapid transfer of foodstuffs from districts where they are plentiful to those where they are scarce is a more powerful instrument than any amount of irrigation. But irrigation is a preventive, and railways are not. The experience of the Punjab during the last five years, in which the province has twice had to face a severe drought, is conclusive evidence on this point. Thanks to its irrigation system the Punjab shows an increase of population of about 7½ per cent. on the decade, while in other districts less adequately equipped with an artificial water supply a failure of the rains no greater than that experienced in the Punjab has led to famine, enormous mortality, and a heavy decrease in population.

THE "MORNING POST."

Of the results of the census, as displayed in the table printed in another column, it is perhaps premature to attempt a discussion. But one or two conclusions force themselves at once on our notice. Between 1881 and 1891 the total population of India showed an increase of 11·2 per cent., while for the decennial period which closes with this year the increase is only 2·42 per cent. But even this greatly reduced percentage does not represent the full decline in the advance during the past ten years as compared with the decennial period that immediately preceded them. If the areas now enumerated for the first time are deducted the increase over the census of 1891 amounts only to 1·49 per cent. A more detailed examination of the figures will show that this result is in the main due to the decreasing population in the Native States, for while in British India proper the population has increased 4·44 per cent. since the last census, the population of the Native States has actually decreased 4·34 per cent. Another remarkable fact which emerges from an examination of the total for the whole of India is that while there has been an actual increase in the population the preponderance of the male over the female population is less in 1901 than it was in 1891—less not relatively merely, but actually. What further results a more careful examination of the figures may give we cannot now stop to enquire, but it is obvious that the relatively small numerical advance made by the Indian population during the last ten years has an important bearing on the interesting speculations as to the ultimate overcrowding of the globe with which statisticians from time to time beguile us. There have, doubtless, been exceptional influences at work in India during recent years which may account to a large extent for the decreased rate of increase. In the old days of Native rule war, pestilence, and famine conspired to keep down the number of the people. Now that the *pax Britannica* rules in the land war can almost be eliminated from the dread trio, but pestilence and famine have stalked through India during recent years, and, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the Indian Government and its devoted servants, have claimed a heavy toll from an impoverished and an enfeebled people. Pestilence and famine must, no doubt, bear a heavy share of the responsibility for the slow rate of advance shown by the new census returns, but it is more easy to fix the responsibility than to determine its extent. To do this will require a careful analysis of the figures made in full knowledge of local conditions, and for this we must look to those who have made the social and economic condition of India their special study.—(*April* 15.)

MR. LEONARD COURTNEY ON THE FUTURE OF INDIA.

Mr. Leonard Courtney has an interesting and important chapter on India in his new book on "The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom and its Outgrowths." Having dealt in general terms with the history of the British connexion with India, and summarised the existing system of administration, Mr. Courtney writes :—

"The position of the State as landlord enforces duties which must in any case have been admitted, having regard to the other circumstances of India. The great peril of the country is an insufficient supply or distribution of water, and large irrigation works (tanks, canals, etc.) have long been the care of Indian rulers. Much has been done to extend the system of irrigation throughout the Peninsula, but the great work of the British Government during the last half-century has been the construction of railroads. Trunk and branch lines have been made in all directions, partly for purposes of military organisation, but on a still greater scale for the promotion by easy transport of industry and commerce; and partly again to overcome the famine consequences of partial or even extensive droughts by the establishment of facilities for moving supplies of food into distressed districts. The Government, in these as in so many other matters, occupies a kind of paternal position towards the great mass of the population; but at the same time the education and ideas of European culture are permeating what may be called the professional classes of India; and a way has yet to be found of reconciling the desire thus begotten to be associated with the government of the country with that condition of untrained submissiveness which characterises the bulk of the inhabitants of India. Natives find employment in commerce and in the courts of law. They attend university classes and obtain degrees. They enter the professions. They fill subordinate posts in the Civil Service. They may as successful candidates in competitive examinations be found in the Covenanted Service. They sit on the Bench in the High Courts. Whilst thus discharging a multiplicity of functions of various grades of importance in British India proper, they see in the Protected States an administration entirely in the hands of fellow-Indians, though more or less controlled by English residents. It is not surprising that aspiration should exist for a larger and more independent share in the government of India, and these aspirations have found vent in self-constituted National Congresses, which have met annually to discuss Indian affairs and to pass resolutions in favour of changes tending towards representative institutions. The authority of these Congresses has been questioned and their experience has been chequered, but their existence is not resented by those who are seriously occupied with the problem of the government of India. Before the Mutiny annexation and absorption under direct British administration was the policy of Lord Dalhousie. More lately the desire to foster and strengthen the existence of Native States has been developed, but it cannot be said that a definite end is discernible as the goal of either course. Tentative steps may be expected in the direction of decentralisation, in experiments in representative co-operation, and generally in extending the sphere of responsible association of Natives and Europeans in Indian government, but there is no immediate prospect of any great change of that remarkable system under which public opinion as expressed through the Imperial Parliament, under checks and limitations devised with its assent and existing by

its permission, overrules the bureaucratic government of the great Indian Peninsula.

"India is under the immediate administration of the Governor-General and his Council, but these are appointed from home, and if the Governor-General felt disposed to differ from the policy of the Secretary of State (which has very rarely happened) he must yield up his private opinion or resign. The Secretary of State again is a member of the Cabinet, which must possess the confidence of Parliament, especially of the House of Commons. It has nevertheless been part of the overruling mind which has shaped the organisation of Indian government to make it not too responsive to the varying temper of the House of Commons. In the end the national will must have its way here as elsewhere; but checks and obstacles are interposed which, perhaps insensibly, moderate its force. No part of the expense involved in the government of India comes before the House of Commons in Committee of Supply. The salary of the Colonial Secretary is voted by Parliament, and there is thus a possibility of annually reviewing his policy in the full activity of the parliamentary Session. The salary of the Indian Secretary of State is paid by India and never comes before the House of Commons. At the end of the Session, generally after the Appropriation Bill has been read a second time, the Indian budget is submitted; and this consists of the review of the financial situation in India followed after a desultory discussion by a resolution simply affirming that the Indian Accounts show certain totals of income and of expenditure. It may be doubted whether this does not betray too great a jealousy of the House of Commons. If the salary of the Indian Secretary were submitted, like that of the Colonial Secretary, to a vote, the opportunity for a real debate would be given which, experience suggests, would be used rather than abused."

MR. S. H. SWINNY AT HAMPSTEAD.

Mr. Martin Wood was announced to lecture at the Library, Prince Arthur Road, Hampstead, on April 15, under the auspices of the North-West London Democratic Peace Union; but unfortunately he was prevented by the death of a near relative. His place had to be filled at very short notice by Mr. S. H. Swinny, who was to have taken the chair. Mr. Maurice presided, and Mr. Joseph Stanley, the secretary of the Union, read letters of apology for non-attendance from Dr Bridges, Colonel Hanna, Sir John Jardine, and Mr. Martin Wood. The Chairman having expressed his sorrow at the absence of Mr. Wood, briefly introduced the lecturer.

Mr. Swinny remarked that Mr. Martin Wood had chosen a very large subject, "India and her people." This was a subject that Mr. Wood's long experience in India made him eminently suited to treat. For himself, he should not attempt to cover the whole of this wide field. The famine which was now the most interesting fact connected with India, and the causes and remedies for famine would be sufficient to occupy him that night. India was necessarily a large subject—it was a large country, as large as all Europe, excluding Russia, and it had a large population, approaching 300,000,000, and therefore more than seven times that of these islands. Yet the people of these islands had the control of the immediate destiny of the vast population of India—a terrible responsibility, which imposed on us all the duty of informing ourselves as to the state of the Indian people. In the period that elapsed between 1881 and 1891 there was a considerable growth of population in India. The rate of increase was not really very rapid: it was only .94 per cent. per annum, if Burma were excluded—far less than that of England and many other countries. Yet when the increase was stated, not in percentages but in millions, it ran into large figures, and seemed very formidable. And this was put forward by Anglo-Indians as the root of India's misfortunes. It was said that war having been put an end to in India by our rule, one of the great checks on population had been removed, that in consequence the people were pressing on the means of subsistence, and that poverty was the necessary result. That argument could be used no longer. The last census which had just been taken had shown a very small increase in the population, an increase which was accounted for by the greater accuracy of the present enumeration. Practically, the population of India was stationary. Numbers had been swept away by the two famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900. If over-population was the cause of Indian poverty, then the first of these famines, in which so many perished, ought to have been followed by a period of renewed prosperity, but nothing of the kind had taken place. To the official mind, the sole cause of famine was a failure of the rains. But let us look at this a little closer and compare the case of India with that of other countries. In many parts of Europe famines had once been common. They were so no longer. Why was this? Because the climate had improved? No, because the people had grown richer. New means of communication had grown up, and there was sufficient wealth to utilise them. When their own crops fell short, they could make up the deficiency by buying from elsewhere. In the present century only two European nations had suffered from serious famine, and it might repay us to consider the economic position of these two countries. They were both poor. Going a step further, we found that they were both in the main agricultural. In Ireland the great manufactures were confined to the North. In Russia, though there were many industries, they were as nothing in that vast population, and whole districts depended on the land alone. In Russia there was a system of government far too expensive for the people, and as a consequence a crushing taxation. In Ireland there were large payments to be made out of the country without economic return, payments which, as John Stuart Mill pointed out, had all the effects of a tribute. Now it was curious that these three conditions, the great preponderance of a single industry, the expensiveness of government, and consequent heavy taxation, and the payment of large sums out of the country without economic return—two of which were found in Ireland and two in Russia—were all found in India. The first of these, the dependence of the great mass of the Indians on agriculture alone, and the ruin of the village industries was possibly an unavoidable result of the connexion between India and European countries. It was not easy to replace those industries. Cotton mills had, it was true, been established in Bombay, Ahmedabad, and other places, but these had little effect on India as a whole. A resuscitation of the decaying arts by means of technical education had its advocates—an excellent proposal, but one that might take a long time to bear fruit. As to the second condition—over-taxation, it was to be noted that in the re-assessment for land-tax which took place at intervals over the greater part of India, the amount demanded was always rising, though it was admitted that the position and resources of the agriculturists had but little improved, even if they had not deteriorated. Nor was it of much use to compare our taxation with that of earlier rulers of India, for ours, whatever its amount, differed from theirs in the rigour and punctuality of its collection, the difficulty of obtaining remission and in its having to be paid in money. One other tax should be mentioned, the monopoly of salt. Ocean-borne salt was taxed at 500 per cent of its value. At the Government Salt Works, in one case, as much as 4,000 per cent. of the value was charged. When the Indian left the enlightened and progressive rule of England for the effete and retrograde dominion of Portugal, when he crossed from British India to Goa, he found that the price of salt was enormously less. As to the third great cause of Indian poverty, India had a great excess of exports over imports. This excess was roughly the tribute. Every year payments had to be made in England—interest on the Indian debt, cost of the India Office, recruiting for India, pensions and pay for officials on furlough, etc., etc., and therefore in order to make these payments India had to export goods for which she received no imports in return. This, as Mill showed, meant that she not only lost this sum every year, but in order to force a market, she had to sell all her goods cheaper and buy all dearer than she would otherwise have had to do. In the year 1898-99, the excess of exports over imports was £21,000,000. In 1899-1900 (a year of famine) it was £14,000,000, so that while the country was suffering from famine its wealth was being drained away. In spite of poverty and famine, India exported last year over £8,000,000 worth of rice, over £3,000,000 of wheat, and over £10,000,000 of opium and jute, which, though not themselves food, occupied land on which food might have been sown. In fact our Government was too expensive and alien, and thus India was impoverished. It was necessary then, that the Government should be made cheaper and less alien. India, which was the poorest civilised country in the world had the dearest Government. The Indian Civil Service was a famous body of able men, for the most part devoted to their duty, but its cost and the early age at which its members could retire on a large pension spent in a foreign land, was a heavy burden on India. It was said that Indians would make inferior administrators. It might be so. Nations, as well as individuals, must cut their coat according to their cloth. Some luxuries, though very desirable, were too expensive. But it was notable that in the case of Judgeships of the High Court, the highest posts to which Indians had been promoted, they had shown themselves quite equal to their duties. Judges like the late Mr. Justice Ranade were recognised as the peers of their European colleagues at the very least. The Indians were placed at a great disadvantage by having to compete for the Indian Civil Service in London. It was most important from a financial point of view that Indians should be admitted in greater numbers to the service of the State. But it was also important for other reasons. The English in India were less in sympathy with the Indians now than they were two or three generations ago. England was nearer, and the Anglo-Indians kept more in touch with England and English opinion. The advantages gained by India from her connexion with England were:—(1) A common language and interests, so that India was gradually becoming one nation; (2) Religious equality; (3) Peace—usually made the chief advantage, but only so by comparing the present with the turbulent period following the break-up of the Mogul power; (4) Absence of corruption in the higher officials. The drawbacks were:—(1) The Indians were as aliens in their own country—excluded from the highest offices and losing the powers of statesmanship. Akbar could appoint a Hindu his Minister of Finance; (2) The Government was too expensive,

and the people too poor to support it. This it behoved us to remedy (applause).

At the close of the lecture many questions were asked and answered.

Mr. St. John, who served in India as an officer in the British Army, also spoke, generally endorsing the views of the lecturer. He said that he had gradually come to change the opinions with which he went out to India. He had been very much struck with the large place which office work took up in Indian affairs, whether Civil or Military. He admired the incorruptible devotion of the English officials, but he could not hide from himself that the Indians under our rule were losing their manhood. One nation could not govern another with advantage. He wanted no sudden revolution. What we should work for was to lead the people to develop themselves in their own way. One nation would never rule another solely with the view to that other nation's good. We went originally to India for purposes of trade, and unintentionally we had continued since to make something out of the country, though our gains were on a very different scale. It was necessary in the end that the Indians should work out their own salvation (applause).

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer and Mr. St. John. This was seconded by Dr. Thompson and carried unanimously. Dr. Thompson also expressed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Maurice for presiding. Mr. Swinny briefly replied, while the Chairman mentioned that the organisation of the meeting was entirely due to Mr. Joseph Stanley.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

RESOLUTIONS AT THE SIXTEENTH SESSION.

For the information of English readers, and for convenience of reference, we print the text of the following resolutions adopted at the Sixteenth Indian National Congress, held on December 27, 28, and 29, at Lahore:—

RESOLUTION II.

That having regard to the oft-recurring famines in India, and the manifestly decreasing power of resistance on the part of its population in the face of a single failure of harvest, leading as it frequently does to human suffering, loss of life, destruction of live-stock, disorganisation of rural operations, and interference with the legitimate work of the administrative machinery, the Congress hereby earnestly prays that the Government of India may be pleased to institute at an early date a full and independent enquiry into the economic condition of the people of India with a view to the ascertainment and adoption of practicable remedies.

RESOLUTION III.

That having regard to the devoted and loyal services rendered by Indian soldiers in the service of the Empire, the Congress again urges on the Government—

(*a*) The desirability of throwing open to them the higher grades of the Military Service; and

(*b*) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, at which Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or Non-Commissioned Officers, according to capacity and qualifications, in the Indian Army.

RESOLUTION IV.

That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion, both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of the judicial from the executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress, while thanking Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds and Sir William Wedderburn for presenting a petition to the Secretary of State in Council to effect the much-needed separation, earnestly hopes that the Government of India will give their earliest attention to the petition which has been forwarded to them, and will take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform.

RESOLUTION V.

That the Congress regrets the practical exclusion of Natives of India from the higher appointments in the Police, the Public Works, the State Railways, the Opium, the Customs, the Telegraph the Survey and other Departments, and prays that full justice be done to the claims of the people of India in regard to these appointments.

RESOLUTION VI.

That this Congress regrets the suspension of the privileges accorded to the graduates of a certain standing of the Calcutta University, to return Fellows to the University, and the fact that effect is not given to the provisions of the Act constituting the Punjab University with regard to the election of Fellows by the Senate, and is of opinion that it is desirable, in the interests of sound education, to confer the privilege of electing Fellows upon the graduates of Indian Universities where it does not exist, and of extending it where it does exist.

RESOLUTION VII.

That this Congress desires to record its gratitude to H. E. the Viceroy for the benevolence of his famine policy, and for his firm resolve to uphold the interests of order and justice, as evidenced in the regulations recently issued regarding the grant of shooting passes to soldiers and his proceedings in connexion with the Rangoon and O'Gara cases.

RESOLUTION VIII.

That this Congress places on record its conviction that the system of technical education now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and prays that, having regard to the poverty of the people and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction, and set apart more funds for a successful working of the same. And this Congress desires to express its grateful appreciation of the patriotic and munificent gift of Mr. Tata for the promotion of higher scientific education and research.

RESOLUTION IX.

That this Congress is of opinion that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General in Council, all laws and orders having the force of law, intended for Berar, should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for British India proper.

RESOLUTION X.

(i) That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating—

(*a*) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, and all visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, caste or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and to make all licences, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued.

(*b*) The authorising and stimulating of a widespread system of Volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

(*c*) The discontinuance of the grant of Exchange Compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government.

(*d*) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.

(ii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, records its protest—

(*a*) Against the scheme of reorganisation of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude Natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

(*b*) Against the present rate of the Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poorer classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

(*c*) Against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, entertaining the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the North-Western Provinces.

(*d*) Against the labour laws of Assam, viz., the Inland Emigration Act I. of 1882, amended by Act VII. of 1893.

(iii) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its conviction—

(*a*) That, having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by jury should be extended to the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of juries should be final.

(*b*) That this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the people of this country that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons, who are Natives of India, the right of claiming, in trials by jury before the High Court, and in trials with the aid of assessors, that not less than half the number of the jurors or of the assessors shall be Natives of India.

(*c*) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of forest subordinates in various ways; and these rules should be amended in the interest of the people.

(*d*) That the minimum income assessable under the Income Tax Act should be raised from five hundred to one thousand rupees.

(e) That no satisfactory solution of the question of the employment of Natives of India in the Indian Civil Service is possible unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June, 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in India and England.

Resolution XI.

That this Congress, while expressing its grateful acknowledgments for the annual contribution of £257,000 promised to be made from the British to the Indian Exchequer in accordance with the recommendations of the majority of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, respectfully desires to point out that for doing adequate justice to the claims of India so far as admitted by that Commission it is necessary that she should be granted the arrears payable on this account for the past many years, and prays that the British Parliament will be pleased to make this grant.

Resolution XII.

That the Congress hereby approves of the suggestion presented by the Indian Congress Committee for the consideration of this Session that at least half a day at each annual Session of the Congress be devoted to the consideration and discussion of the industrial and educational problems of the country. Further resolved that annually two committees be appointed by the Congress, one for the educational and one for the industrial subjects, to consider and suggest means for the educational and industrial improvement of the country and to assist therein, and that to each committee a secretary be annually appointed. These committees shall divide themselves into provincial committees, with power to add to their number.

Resolution XIII.

That the following memorial be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council by a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen: Hon. P. M. Mehta, Hon. W. C. Bonnerjee, Hon. Ananda Charlu, Hon. Surrendra Nath Bannerji, Hon. Munshi Madho Lal, Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Mr. R. M. Sayani, Mr. Harkishen Lal.

Your Excellency,

We, on behalf of the delegates assembled at the Sixteenth Session of the Indian National Congress at Lahore in December last, have the honour to submit most respectfully for the consideration of Your Excellency in Council the accompanying resolutions passed by that assembly, and specially the following questions which have long been before the country, and which, in the opinion of the Congress, now await a speedy solution of a practical and beneficent character.

1. The question of the extreme desirability of separating judicial from executive functions has now been so well recognised, and there exists such a strong consensus of opinion on the subject, official and non-official, that your memorialists are earnestly of hope that the Government will be pleased at an early date to introduce this popular reform in the administration of the country.

2. The increasing poverty of the peasantry in the greater part of the country, and their consequent inability to maintain themselves without State and private benevolence at the very outset of scarcity or famine, is another pressing problem. Your memorialists are fully aware of the fact that the serious attention of the Government has been engaged on it, and they trust that some efficacious remedy will be soon found which may greatly contribute to mitigate that severe poverty and enable the peasantry to better resist the strain which years of bad harvests or scarcity may entail on them.

3. That in view of the condition to which the recent famines have reduced the rayats the Government will be so good as to cause an exhaustive enquiry to be instituted into their growing impoverishment by means of an independent Commission.

Resolution XIV.

That the Congress respectfully urges upon the Government that in its opinion the time has come when the Punjab should be constituted into a Regulation Province.

Resolution XV.

That this Congress views with grave alarm and deep regret the rapid increase in the consumption of intoxicants, specially liquor, in this country, and the Congress is of opinion that the cheap supply of liquor, etc., is alone responsible for this. The Congress, therefore, fervently appeals to the Government of India to pass measures like the Maine Liquor Law of America, and introduce Bills like Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill or the Local Option Act, and impose an additional tax upon intoxicants not intended to be used as medicine. The Congress records its firm conviction that if the Government do not take these practical steps immediately the moral, material and physical deterioration of those classes among whom liquor, etc., have obtained a firm hold would be inevitable; and as intoxicants have already affected the great labouring class the benevolent intention of the Government to help the growth of the Indian arts and industries would bear no fruit. The Congress gives great importance to this question, which, it strongly believes, is intimately connected with the material progress of the country, and emphatically protests against the cheap supply of liquor, etc.

Resolution XVI.

That this Congress offers its sincere and hearty congratulations to Mr. W. S. Caine on his election to Parliament, and expresses its confidence in him as a trusted friend of the people of India and a promoter of their best interests.

Resolution XVIII.

That, in the opinion of the Congress, the new rules restricting the number of Indians eligible to qualify themselves for employment in the engineering branch of the Indian Public Works Department, through the Coopers Hill College, to a maximum of two only in a year should be withdrawn as a matter of bare justice to the people of this country, and that the said College should be made available equally for the use of all subjects of her Majesty; and the Congress is further of opinion that the invidious distinction made between Indians and Anglo-Indians as regards the guaranteed appointments in connexion with the college at Roorkee should be withdrawn, and that these appointments should be made available to all her Majesty's Indian subjects in all parts of the country.

Resolution XIX.

That this Congress begs to record its high and grateful appreciation of the services rendered to this country and the Congress movement by Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. A. O. Hume, and to express its regret at the retirement of Sir William Wedderburn from Parliament, where he rendered great and valuable services to this country, and hopes that he may soon return to Parliament to renew his labour of love for the people of India.

Resolution XX.

That this Congress once more draws the attention of the Indian Government as well as of the Secretary of State for India to the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa, and earnestly hopes that in view of the re-arrangement of the boundaries in that Continent and the incorporation of the late Boer Republics into the British dominions, the disabilities under which the Indian settlers laboured in those Republics, and as to which her Majesty's Government owing to their independence in internal matters felt powerless to obtain redress, will now no longer exist, and that the serious inconvenience caused to the settlers in Natal, among others by the Immigration Restrictions and the Dealers' Licences Acts of that Colony, which are manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the British constitution as also the Proclamation of 1858, will be materially mitigated, if not entirely removed.

Resolution XXI.

That the Congress begs to suggest to the Government of India that qualified Indian members, representing the different Provinces, may be nominated to the Committee, recently formed, in connexion with the proposal of starting Agricultural Banks in India.

Resolution XXII.

That this Congress desires to put on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the death of Bakhshi Jaishi Ram, who was one of the staunch supporters of the Congress for many a year and rendered valuable services to it in connexion with his own Province.

Resolution XXIII.

That while thanking the Government of India for its intention to investigate the question of the incidence and pressure of the land assessment as affecting the well-being and resources of the agricultural population, the Congress respectfully urges upon the Government the desirability of including within the scope of the contemplated investigation the question of periodical settlement of assessments and the necessity repeatedly pointed out by the Congress of making it permanent. This Congress further prays that the Government of India may be pleased to publish the opinions invited from Local Governments and administrations, on the subject referred to in para. 4 of the Resolution of the Government of India (Revenue and Agricultural Department) published in the *Gazette of India* dated December 22, 1900, and allow the public an opportunity to make their representations thereon before the Government decides whether further investigation is necessary or not in the terms of the said Resolution.

Resolution XXIV.

That the Congress respectfully submits that the provisions of the Indian Mines Bill, so far as they impose restrictions on the employment of labour, be omitted, and that the penal provisions thereof may not be put in force for a period of five years, and that, in the meantime, mining schools be opened in suitable centres where young men may qualify themselves for employment under the Act.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

On April 23 at the North Camberwell Radical Club and Institute at 8.30 p.m., Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will deliver an address on the "Condition of India."

On May 5 at the Brixton Discussion Forum (Raleigh College Hall, Saltoun Road, Effra Road, Brixton, at 11.30 a.m.) he will deliver an address on the same subject.

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO INDIA.

To be obtained from
THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
84-85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Reports of the Proceedings at the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress, from the 3rd to the 14th Session. 2s. each, post free.

The Skeleton at the (Jubilee) Feast (Congress Green Book I.), by Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bart. (being a series of suggestions for the prevention of famine in India). Post free, 7d.

Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure: Evidence-in-Chief of the Indian Witnesses. (Congress Green Book II.) Post free, 1s. 10d.

The Proposed Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in India. Memorial to the Secretary of State. With two Appendices. (Congress Green Book III.) Post free, 1s. 2d.

Two Statements presented to the Indian Currency Committee (1898), by Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Speech by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., in the House of Commons, August 14, 1894, on the Debate on the Indian Budget.
Ditto do. in the House of Commons, February 12, 1895, on the Debate on the Address.
Ditto do. on British Rule in India (1898).

Presidential Address by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Lahore, 1893.

Presidential Address by Mr. A. M. Bose, M.A., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Madras, 1898.

Speeches of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., President of the Indian National Congress, 1894-5.

Valedictory Address of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., delivered at Bombay, January 17, 1895.

Speeches of Mr. D. E. Wacha delivered at the 9th, 11th and 14th Sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Is the Government of India Responsible to Anyone, and if so to Whom? Speech delivered at Croydon by Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE.

The Famine in India. Speeches delivered at a Public Reception to Mr. Vaughan Nash on his return from the Famine Districts, July, 1900.

Mr. A. O. Hume's Farewell to India. Speech delivered at Bombay, 1894.

India Reform Pamphlet IX. The State and Government of India under its Native Rulers. 3d.

The Indian National Congress: its Aims and Justification. By ROBERT KNIGHT.

Indian Politics. A Series of Papers on Important Indian Questions by Prominent Congressmen. Post free, 4s. 4d.

A Needed Reform in the Indian Administration, by ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E.

The Bogey of a Russian Invasion. A Lesson from the Tirah Campaign, by Col. H. B. HANNA.

The High Courts and the Collector-Magistrates in India, by J. DACOSTA.

The Government of India and its Reform through Parliamentary Institutions, by J. DACOSTA.

Note on Sir J. Westland's Budget, 1894-5.

Note on the Explanatory Memorandum of the Secretary of State for India, 1894-5.

Note on Sir James Westland's Budget, 1895-6.

Note on Sir H. Waterfield's Tables, 1884-5 to 1894-5.

The Poor Man's Lamb: Famine Insurance for the Masses *versus* Exchange Compensation for the Classes.

REPRINTS FROM "INDIA."

The Judiciary and the Executive in India. Interview with Mr. Manomohan Ghose.
The Bombay Government and Higher Education, by the Hon. C. H. Setalved.
A National Famine Grant, Letter from the London Indian Society to Lord Salisbury, 1900.
India and the General Election (1900).
"Melancholy Meanness."
The "Over-population" Fallacy Again.
No National Contribution?
The "Slimness" of the India Office.
"Mainly a Question of Money."

A Selection of the Publications enumerated above will be forwarded to responsible persons or Associations in the United Kingdom for gratuitous distribution, on written application to the British Committee, Indian National Congress, 84-85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

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